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101 582 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 [648] The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 162 [621] About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants [177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 [114] My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 [595] [590] [611] [614] [835] /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 582 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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571 619 621 we were unable to find a precise translation of */õassi* but think it connotes the *we* as distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 621 [608] Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /õassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, ' comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /õassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 835 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any [827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. ' Only dogs do that—not men.' ' It would be madness (*dī*).' ' It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such ' bad things'.

571 619 621 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect, ' We are not animals, we are human beings ', a connotation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of ' perfect persons ' and that ' clean ' and ' empty ' were aspects of the word */õassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister.

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3)With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*/nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other.

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital

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834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

602 The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together.
835 Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

582 Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
835 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2—but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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lished the definition, with sticks and diagrams in the sand and the names of some actual people, ≠Toma, the leader of the band we lived with, insisted that third cousins were ' one's own people '. We ' red people ' might marry our own third cousins, he said, but Bushmen would know that they were one people and should not marry.

FIG. 2. *Consanguineous relatives whom ego must not marry*

[601]

	Male	*Female*	*Joking*
Great-grandparents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandparents	*/gu/na*	*tũn*	yes
Parents	*ba*	*dai*	no
Siblings of parents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Siblings	*/go*	*/kwi*	yes, same sex no, opp. sex
Cousins, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	*/gu/na*	*tũn*	yes
Offspring	*/ka*	*≠ khai*	no
Nephews, nieces	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandchildren	*/gu/na*	*tũn*	yes
Great-grandchildren	*tsu*	*//ga*	no

The kin who are likened, by being of the same generation, to his parents, to his offspring, and to his siblings, are those to whom a /Kung feels the marriage regulations are particularly directed. Siblings of parents are ' like ' parents, cousins are ' like ' siblings, nephews and nieces are ' like ' offspring. Marriage with all these is rigorously forbidden.

Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren is also forbidden but is not a concern. Age and consanguinity combine to push the very thought virtually out of mind. To the /Kung it seemed utterly ridiculous of me to inquire even about the collaterals in these generations. ' Those old people are already dead ', said someone. ' It will be for my grandson to mind the rules when the young children grow up ', said ≠Toma in effect. ' It is not my wish to marry a baby.'

Category 2: affines

The second category of persons to whom the incest taboo is extended is composed of certain affines. Their affinal relationship is considered to be indissoluble once it is established, and ego's marriage with them is prohibited, even though the person through whom the affinal relationship with ego is brought about be dead or divorced. The thought of incestuous relations with at least some of these affines (especially parents of spouse and spouses of offspring) is as horrifying to a /Kung as if they were members of his nuclear family. We learned of no instances of the taboo being broken among them.

The affines with whom marriage is forbidden, who correspond terminologically with ego's parents' generation, ego's own and that of his offspring, are listed in Fig. 3. Joking is allowed or not as it is with ego's kin in these generations.

Parents of ego's SoWi and DaHu are terminologically of ego's generation and he may joke with them but he must not marry them, for that would make his So and SoWi or Da and DaHu stepbrother and stepsister to each other, which would be most awkward.

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582 602 835 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma. Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	≠*tum*	/*utzu*	no
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tzu*	//*ga*	
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tzu*	//*ga*	
(Ego's generation terminologically)			
Parents of SoWi, DaHu	/*umba*	/*umdai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	≠*tum*	/*utzu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tzu*	//*ga*	

[587] Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego		*Female ego*	
	Joking		*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name relationship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two categories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived
684 with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
835 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
159 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
[753] came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

183 Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
553 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
582 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
608 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
835 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 888 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

602 Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 865] A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good purpose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 154] providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands ● 835 of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 601 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

[174] It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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everyone was thankful that she had not been hurt. The people remarked at the size and the intensity of the fire and shook their heads at the destruction, each one telling someone else where he had been when he first had seen the blaze. They asked each other why no one put the fire out, as no one did, and soon the scherm was a heap of white ash and the old couple who owned it ruined materially, too old to start again.

A few weeks after that, two children were married. The groom was about sixteen and the bride was eight. It was considered to be an excellent match, as the bride was pretty and the groom was already becoming famous as a hunter. But even in these auspicious circumstances complications and involved negotiations arose, until, for a while, people began to think that no wedding would take place. The bride's aunt disliked the groom's mother, and recalled an old scandal that had shadowed the family for years. The groom's mother had divorced the groom's father long ago to marry her present husband, which in itself was altogether usual, but it came out that the man and woman had maintained an adulterous relationship before the divorce and furthermore were tabu relatives, which made their union incestuous—not as severely so as marriage between parent and child or brother and sister, but incestuous nevertheless—and it caused a scandal that reverberated throughout all of Nyae Nyae. The two were middle-aged when they married, and they had clung solidly together through the storm of scandal and disapproval, for it was truly a marriage of love.

The little girl did not want to be a bride. When we asked her how she felt about her wedding she hid her face in her hands and said that she was still a young child, too young to get married.

All in all, only the groom's family behaved well, showing patience and forbearance until at last the wedding took place.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relationship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 621 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again

587 582 These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to step-parents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 183 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-

[587] price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth.

[835] But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited."[1] This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[2]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[3] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[4] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the woman's."[5]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[6] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even from other tribes.[7] The Kung also marry outside their own band[8];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 19.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[4] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 1561: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 168.
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910), 8.

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